

policy inherited from Washington, and that President Fillmore was an especial disciple of that doctrine. How, then, does he justify palpable and unprovoked meddling with the affairs of a distant island as here exhibited? Ever since this nation gained its independence, and bravely maintained it against the heaviest odds, the United States has treated us with scornful indifference, or jealous though generally disguised hostility. The reason is notorious. We belong to a branch of the human family which the American Democrat delights to trample on. But now, at last, this favored democracy condescends to notice us, and to take the management of our business out of our hands. What right had Mr. Webster thus dogmatically to affirm that the people of the eastern part of the island are entirely in the right, and we of the west all in the wrong?

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1853.

Mr. Wm. ALCOCK, No. 826 Lombard street, is our agent for the city of Philadelphia, and is fully authorized to receipt for subscriptions to this paper.

Mr. A. will deliver the paper to subscribers at their residences or places of business, on the payment of fifty cents per annum in addition to the regular subscription price.

Single copies of the paper may also be had at his residence.

If any of our Philadelphia subscribers are in arrears to Mr. A., they are requested to make immediate payment to him, as we have given him positive instructions to cut off all who have not paid for the paper in advance.

Mr. W. H. HANSEN, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, No. 48 Beekman street, is our agent for the city of New York, and is fully authorized to receipt for subscriptions to this paper.

Mr. S. B. NOBLE, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, who proposes to travel in Michigan this winter, is an authorized agent for the *National Era*.

TO ADVERTISERS—CIRCULATION 20,000.

Owing to our heretofore cheap rate of advertising and very extensive and daily increasing circulation, we find advertisements crowding in upon us, and occupying more space in our columns than we can devote to them without doing injustice to our readers. We have therefore raised our scale of prices, which are still lower than the rates charged by papers of large circulation, and have allotted but three columns to them; so that every advertisement appearing in our columns will have the advantage of being certain to be read.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.—Ten cents a line for the first insertion, and five cents a line for each subsequent insertion.

Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have on hand No. 309, will confer a favor by returning it to this office.

TERMS OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

One copy, one year, \$2.
Three copies, " " 5.
Five copies, " " 8.
Ten copies, " " 15.
These terms regulate the price of the *Era* for single copies, and for clubs, to old and new subscribers. Three, five, or ten old subscribers, for example, by clubbing, may have no more copies of the *Era* for \$5, \$8, or \$15.

AGENTS FOR CUBA.

Agents are entitled to send us on each new yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each renewed subscriber—except in the case of clubs.

A club of three subscribers, one of whom may be an old one, at \$5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* for three months; a club of five of whom may be old ones, at \$8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten, five of whom may be old ones, at \$15, to a copy for one year. Money to be forwarded by mail at our risk. Large numbers may be sent by express, at the sender's expense. It will be seen that the price of the paper, single copy, is two dollars a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber, who is to receive a copy, to have the benefit of their commission, so that the subscriber, by their kindness, gets his paper for \$1.50, or \$1.75, as the case may be.

LOD PALMERSTON AND SLAVERY IN CUBA.

We commend to the attention of the reader the official correspondence (published on our first page) between the Governments of Spain and England, in relation to the slave trade and slavery in Cuba.

The slave trade is kept up by the Spanish Government and its officials in that island, in violation of solemn treaties with Great Britain, and the great object is, not to benefit the Cubans, but to enrich the few who are generally hostile to the further introduction of African slaves, but to replenish the coffers of the corrupt Court at Madrid.

Great Britain has a right to complain of the bad faith of Spain, especially as it subjects her to heavy expense in her attempts to suppress the importation of slaves from the coast of Africa.

It is no wonder that, buffed thus far by the cupidity of the Spanish Government, Lord Palmerston should have urged upon the expediency of following the example of New Granada, in abolishing slavery itself. Could the market for slaves be suppressed, the supply would cease, as a matter of course.

Other motives doubtless influenced Lord Palmerston in this recommendation. The planters in the British West Indies complain that since the adoption of the Free Trade policy, they have been unable, under a system of free labor, to compete in the growth of sugar with the slave labor of Cuba. As the British Government will not return to the old policy of protection, the next thing is to induce the Spanish Government to follow its example, by abolishing slavery in Cuba. If free labor were established in all the West India islands, they would all stand an equal chance in the markets of the world.

In the second despatch of Lord Palmerston, one of the reasons presented in favor of emancipation is that it would create "a powerful element of resistance to any scheme for annexing Cuba to the United States, where slavery exists."

The Washington *Union* grows indignant over this, and thinks it reveals a most offensive intrigue against our people, and invokes the patriotism of the country, to baffle any such scheme.

Spain is an old ally of Great Britain, as well as a friend of ours. She is bound by treaty with Great Britain, to suppress the slave trade, and this clearly gives the Government of the latter a right to suggest the earliest mode of rendering such a treaty effectual.

Besides, England has just good right to interfere in good offices with Spain to bring about emancipation in Cuba, as the United States had, to interfere for the perpetuation of slavery there. We invoked the intervention of Russia, negotiating with Spain, and by our threats checked the operations of the Southern Republics of this continent, for the purpose of keeping the Creoles of Cuba in political thralldom, and its blacks in slavery, and now we are to be horse-stricken at the interference of England on behalf of Freedom and Free Labor!

The *Union* makes much of the reference of Lord Palmerston to the question of annexation. That motive was presented, we presume, not

because it weighed much with him, but because he supposed it would have influence with the Spanish Government. He would doubtless prefer that Cuba should be independent, or remain a dependency of the Spanish Crown, rather than have it annexed to this country; but we can see no good reason for supposing that he would strenuously oppose such annexation, unless it were attempted in gross violation of the laws of nations.

The Spanish Government will hardly admit his recommendation. Nothing but the most forcible alternative of a loss of the island or the emancipation of the slaves, would induce it to contemplate the latter; and then, the instinct of self-preservation might impel the Creoles to anticipate governmental action, by voluntary emancipation. For this alone could hold out a hope to them of deliverance from ruin, and of the overthrow of the Spanish authority.

A GENERAL VIEW, WITH SOME PRACTICAL REMARKS.

In the disorganization of one of the old parties, in the division of sentiment of the other, in the general settlement of the issues between them, and in the fact that both Whigs and Democrats are now without any recognized leaders of force enough to cement the organization of the one or revive that of the other, many of our friends find reasons for the belief that the Free Democracy may be able to elect its Presidential candidate in 1856, or at least make such a demonstration as shall secure his election in 1860.

They say that there is a prevalent disposition among intelligent Whigs to acquiesce in the popular verdict against so popular a doctrine as the Free Trade and Free Labor, which they have long considered, that liberal Whigs, who have long been the exponents of their slaveholding allies, and the treachery of their Hunker associates, convinced by the result of the late election that no National organization embodying elements so discordant can succeed, and imbued with the Anti-Slavery sentiment of Progress, are now unwilling to enrol themselves under the banner of a new party, founded with an express view to the settlement of the great Questions of Slavery, Land Reform, and other Reforming questions, which the old parties have labored to evade or suppress.

They say that on these questions, which now imperatively demand consideration and decision, there is no unity of sentiment in that party which has elected General Pierce; that strongly inclined as he may be to equalize Executive patronage and favor among all portions of the party, without regard to past controversies, he cannot but fail that the organization of his Cabinet and the first declaration of his policy will give birth to discussions that will end in an open rupture; that such men as Hamlin, King, Van Buren, and Dix, Dickinson, Dallas, and Buchanan, Mason, Venable, and Butler, Hunter, Soule, and Foote, can never be brought to act untriedly in relation to Cuba, Canada, and Mexico, Intervention, Land Reform, Reciprocity, and Free Trade; that the liberal Democrats, aware of this, should the new Administration disappoint their just expectations, will readily unite with the Free Democracy, whose creed and policy they now consider non-negotiable.

They say that the real Democracy of the country was represented only by the Convention held last August at Pittsburgh; that that Convention adopted a creed in relation to Slavery, Intervention, Territorial Extension, Land Reform, Governmental Expenditures, Popular Suffrage—the real Questions of Principle—before the People—which as truly reflects the opinions of a majority of the American People, as the platforms of the Conventions which met at Baltimore misrepresented and outraged them; that the Presidential candidate selected by that Convention has exhibited more intellectual vitality, more character, a better acquaintance with the real interests of the country, and sounder principles, than the candidate of either of the old parties; that the question turned upon their respective merits or popularity, the decision would have been in favor of John P. Hale, but that the People were borne away by the force of party machinery and long-standing associations, and by the general conviction that the contest really lay between the old party candidates, so that a vote given for Hale would only tend to the defeat of one of them, without securing his election. They propose to prevent the occurrence of such an alternative in 1856.

By examining the returns, they say, it will be seen that the vote given for General Pierce by the free States was far more than enough to elect him; but the North really elected the President in 1852, why should it be more abundantly able to elect in 1856?

They say that the Whigs have no candidate to present. No man whom the Hunkers would name could secure the favor of the Liberal Whigs; none whom these would support, would be tolerated by those. The Democrats are no better off. They can now proclaim no name which awakens so much sympathy and good feeling among the masses of the People, as that of John P. Hale. But Hale is the candidate of the Free Democracy; by general consent he is now in the field; his nomination for President is as settled as if made by another National Convention. They propose to urge his claims, not from personal devotion, or for personal ends, but because he is a fair representative, on the whole, of the principles of the Independent or Free Democracy, because he is popular and worthy, and because events have worked together to give him a conspicuous position before the country.

They consider the campaign already begun. As their Party is not one of expedients, but principle, they see no propriety in suspending their operations and waiting upon circumstances. They hold certain doctrines which they intend to infuse into the administration of the Federal Government and State Governments; propose certain ends to be gained by their well-regulated action in their respective spheres; they have commenced the work of organization in time, and intend to submit to the country in 1856, the alternative—Liberty, Progress, and Union; or Slavery, Consolidation, and Disunion.

This being the state of the case, the question is, what shall be done to secure the triumph of real Democratic Principles, and of a real Democratic candidate, in 1856?

First, they must effect a thorough organization in every free State, and in every slaveholding State where practicable; and the way to have a State organization is, to organize in every district, every county, every town. Let League Clubs, Associations, be formed everywhere, which shall keep a register of the votes of the Party, hold regular meetings, support newspapers, and take measures to bring their principles and policy before the People, by speeches, and especially by the systematic circulation of cheap publications.

2. Let them contest every election, whether State or National. No Party can secure ascendancy in the Federal Government, which neglects State politics. It must lay its foundation in the State. The Principles of the Free Democracy apply as well to State as National affairs. As a general rule, it should have its own candidates, and adhere faithfully to them, as in the way only can it perfect its organization. There

may be exceptions, where local, temporary, strictly-limited coalitions will secure some decided gain for their principles, or add strength to their position; but a sound discretion will take care that the exceptions become no rule; and such coalitions can hardly fail to work mischief, unless they be sustained with considerable unanimity. A coalition at the expense of the principles of the Party, is undesirable; a coalition which breaks up its unity, costs too much.

3. As the Free Democracy proposes to obtain the control of the State Governments and the Federal Government, we see not how it can escape the duty of determining and declaring its position on every Question of Principle or Policy likely to arise. If it have fundamental Principles, it is bound not to hold them as abstractions, but to follow them out in all their legitimate applications. It has no right to claim the confidence and support of the masses, while it shall maintain a non-committal position on every question which they regard as essential. The Democratic Party, so called, has been true to the Democratic Principles in some respects, and false in others. It has warred against moneyed monopolies, and sought the gradual removal of restrictions on commerce, but it has never dared to take open ground in favor of Free Trade or Land Reform, and it has permitted itself to be used for the support of Slavery, and the oppression of the colored man. Let not the Democratic Party whose distinctive feature is opposition to every kind of Slavery, follow this crooked, corrupt policy. Let it be true to its Principles, and trust the People. Let it not dodge an application of its doctrines for the sake of bringing support to another application. Let it not seek for a declaration of its views in regard to Tariffs, Free Trade, and Direct Taxation, lest it should prevent the accession of men actuated exclusively by opposition to Slavery. Calling practical questions "side issues" will not make them so. No logical consequence of our Principles can be a side issue. Let us be honest, and boldly admit every measure of policy fairly deducible from our creed. As to the objection that such a course may produce divisions, no such consideration should weigh with men who have made up their minds to ascertain, declare, and apply the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. Frank dealing will alienate or repel none whose support is worth having. Suppose the old Democratic Party should make an avowed declaration of its position on the Slavery Question, and should thereby alienate some of its supporters—would not the fair inference be, that these men were more devoted to Slavery than to any principle or aim of Democracy? The alliance of such men would be an obstruction to the Party. Suppose the frank declaration made by the Free Democratic Convention of Ohio, in favor of the general policy of Free Trade, should alienate some who have hitherto acted with the Party, ought we not to infer that such men are more devoted to certain doctrines of political economy than to the rights of man—that they are more hostile to Free Trade than Slavery?

So long as the Convention of the party shall make no declaration in their opinion the Question of Slavery is paramount, and so long as while claiming the right to declare the views of a majority of the party on all other questions, honestly and boldly, they recognize and protect the freedom of opinion of the minority, there ought to be no discussion, there will be none. Those whom such a course alienates or repels, can be spared without detriment.

4. A proposition was made some months since, to raise a fund for the purpose of enabling Mr. Hale to devote his time to the advocacy of the principles and interests of the party for the next four years, and numerous letters, warmly responsive, have reached us. They are creditable to the zeal and liberality of the friends of Freedom; but we agree with Mr. Hale, that there is a better way of exercising labor and money. Considerations which readily suggest themselves, on a little reflection, must induce Mr. Hale to decline the course of action contemplated by the proposition. Let the money which would be raised for such a purpose, be expended in the vigorous support of the local Free Press, and in obtaining regular supplies of documents for gratuitous circulation. A judicious friend in Massachusetts remarks, that speeches doubtless have their effect, but the constant reading of a sound, able Anti-Slavery paper, is the great thing needed. Another friend in Baltimore writes—the influence of Anti-Slavery papers is good to a certain extent, but even that is a great degree is evanescent. The influence of a well-conducted paper, though it is constant dropping, is the perfecting of the work. It is the constant dropping that you intend really to elect your friends in 1856, you must go to elect your friends, hold meetings, vote, speak, print, circulate the documents—work systematically, thoroughly, steadily, resolutely—and should not entirely success crown your efforts, you will have the consolation of knowing that you have done your duty, and deserved success.

A CASE OF KIDNAPING.

UPPER ALTON, Ill., Jan. 27, 1853.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

DEAR SIR: About fifteen or sixteen months ago, a young man by the name of Leonard, an Irishman, residing in Memphis, Tennessee, brought a young colored woman to Alton, Illinois, with the full and declared intention to set her free. It appears that young Leonard inherited her from his father's estate, and of course had a right to do as he pleased with her. The young woman made her home with an aunt, who has been living in Alton some thirteen or fourteen years. She has been living in reasonable enjoyment of her liberty for five months. On the 16th of this month, three men entered her room, seized her, dragged her into the street, and made their way in haste down to the river, where there was a boat just about to start for St. Louis. The seizure of the poor heart-broken woman soon called out a great many people, to see what was the matter, and the result was the slanders were through. A grand jury was called at the office of the United States Commissioner, who, after a short process, soon decided in favor of the claimants. About four weeks previous to this she had been married to a young man in Alton. He and some of us seeing that the case was lost, unless she could be bought, determined to raise the money, the price set being twelve hundred dollars. The claims were settled, and contributed freely. A large part of the sum we obtained by borrowing by mortgage what property we had. This sir, has disabled me, for the first time, to renew my subscription to your most interesting paper, the *National Era*. It is like parting with one of my family to be separated from a paper that I have read with so much satisfaction for six years past.

It was my misfortune to be born a slave, and served in that horrible capacity for twenty-two years of my life in the State of Virginia; and of course I would be very inconsistent in not to do all I could in such a struggle for freedom. I have for many years contemplated as freely as possible to the Anti-Slavery cause, and still intend to do so as much as I can, and as long as I live.

I remain your unfortunate but sincere friend,
C. M. HOWARD.

This man, according to the *Richmond (Va.) Examiner*, is no man at all, but a false friend. The one he details would seem to be a fine girl, the fact that he brought her to a free State, and that she remained there by his con-

sent, established her freedom, even according to the whole current of the decisions of slaveholding courts.

Mr. Howard said not be deprived of the *Era*, so long as he wishes to read it.—Ed. *Era*.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE, AND ANNEXATION.

In what we said last week concerning the annexation of Cuba, we did not intend to detract from the claims of Cuba to the sympathy of the People of this country, or to disparage the importance of the question of Cuban Independence and Annexation. In our opinion, not only ought this Government to have pursued steadily the policy of encouraging the incorporation of Canada with this country; not only should it have sought to promote the welfare of Hayti, by excluding, as far as possible, all European intrigue, and manifesting special friendship for it; but it ought to have labored, so far as it could do so honorably, for the independence of Cuba, and have kept the way open for its annexation, whenever such a measure could be accomplished with benefit to all parties.

We prefer to occupy a positive position upon every important question, and not to hedge between contingencies. It is right to expose the inconsistencies and contradictions of others. It is fair to discriminate between measures, and avow a preference of one over another. But, we dislike the non-committalism which evades any direct avowal of opinion, by mere declaration about the relative merits of schemes of policy, without declaring in favor of any one of them. The miserable inconsistencies of Whigs and Democrats in regard to a Tariff, cannot justify us in refusing to form or express a positive opinion on the subject of the Gen. Cas. For Cuba and her people, the demand is, a full subject for debate on position at all in relation to them. We said that our Government ought to have labored, so far as was consistent with good faith, for the independence of Cuba; and we now add, that but for the action of this Government, Cuba would have achieved, ere this, its independence. Spanish power would have been extinguished in this hemisphere, and to-day we should not be alarmed and agitated with reports of European intrigues in reference to that important island. We beg to call the attention of the People, especially of "Young America," so called, to a chapter in our history which will show that here, as in other questions of policy in our foreign relations, Slavery, through the Federal Government, has worked against only the general interests of Liberty, but the best interests of the Republic. Inseparable to the claims of Patriotism, it has involved the country in almost insupportable difficulties, by its blind devotion to its own peculiar interests. Cuba groans this hour in bondage, because the Slave Power has willed it. That Cuban Independence is not an accomplished fact, is owing to the domination of the Slave Power in our National Congress. And now to the proof. This is supplied by Judge Jay, in his "View of the Action of the Federal Government in relation to Slavery"—a book which should be in the hands of every voter in the country. We transfer to our columns the section devoted to this subject:

"As six years ago, the Congress of Panama, Spain was still at war with her late colonies, and of course they were authorized by every principle of national law, as well as of self-defense, to carry their arms into the hands of their enemy. Cuba was at a short distance, devoted to the royal cause, and affording a depot for a naval force ever ready to prey upon the commerce of the Republic. Under these circumstances, Mexico and Colombia meditated the invasion and conquest of that island. But these Republics, on achieving their own freedom, had given freedom to their slaves; and in order to protect the slavery of the Republic, they were to become masters of Cuba. These remarks will explain the following extract from the instructions given to the ministers appointed to represent the United States at the Congress of Panama:

"It is required by the frank and friendly relations which we most anxiously desire to cherish with the new Republics, that you should refuse to acknowledge the status of the United States too much at stake, in the fortunes of Cuba, to allow them to see with indifference a war of invasion prosecuted in a desolating manner, or to see employed, in the purpose of such a war, one of the warlike means combating against another, upon principles and motives that must inevitably lead, if not to the extermination of one party or the other, to the shocking excesses of the humanity of the United States in respect to the weaker, and which in such a terrible struggle would probably be the suffering parties, to the detriment of the peace and safety of the continent of such near and dangerous examples, would constrain them, even at the hazard of losing the friendship of Mexico and Colombia, to employ all the means necessary."

"The obvious meaning of all this, in plain English, divided of its diplomatic circumlocution, is, simply that the Federal Government, in order to protect the slavery of the Republic, from the shock it might receive from emancipation in Cuba, would, if necessary, go to war with our sister Republics, to prevent the invasion of that island."

"But so long as Spain refused to acknowledge the independence of her revolted colonies, the war would be continued, Cuba would be exposed to invasion, and the slave States to the purpose of such a war, one of the warlike means combating against another, upon principles and motives that must inevitably lead, if not to the extermination of one party or the other, to the shocking excesses of the humanity of the United States in respect to the weaker, and which in such a terrible struggle would probably be the suffering parties, to the detriment of the peace and safety of the continent of such near and dangerous examples, would constrain them, even at the hazard of losing the friendship of Mexico and Colombia, to employ all the means necessary."

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"Spain also was implored, through the American minister, to be reconciled to the new Republics; said Mr. Clay, in his letter (27th April, 1825) to Mr. Everett, 'that the President wishes you to urge upon Spain the expediency of conceding the war. If the way should continue between Spain and the new Republics, and those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) should become the object and theatre of a contest, the United States, that they could not be indifferent spectators; and the possible contingencies of a protracted war might bring upon the Government of the United States duties and responsibilities, which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline.'

"The proposed invasion was abandoned; but the fears of our Government were not allayed. The war continued, and some contingency arising from it might give liberty to the tens of thousands in Cuba pining in bonds. A new attempt was made to induce Spain to remove the danger by conceding the war. On the 22d October, 1829, Mr. Van Buren, then Secretary of State, instructed Mr. Van Ness, our minister in Spain, to press upon that Court a declaration of the United States, that the Republics of America would not set foot upon the soil of Cuba, and that the United States, in a Republic—constitutional, military privileges, being incompatible with liberty."

5th. The abolition of tythes and the surpluses of the Church.

6th. The right of partitioners to elect their curators. This power has heretofore been exercised by the Executive.

7th. The entire Liberty of the Press.

8th. Free Education—the obstacles in the way of the poor in getting admission to the bar, and to every branch of learning being removed, by reducing or abolishing fees for titles and degrees.

9th. The division of the revenues—so necessary in a democratic Republic; as their centralization renders democratic a mere name, or makes the rulers monarchical or absolute. The object of the law is to allow the people to manage their local governments, to which the United States owe so much of their prosperity.

10th. The abolition of Quarantine and Cor-

sonably fall on the adjacent shores of the United States.

"The subject of the Panama mission was debated at great length in both Houses of Congress, and frequent allusions were made by the speakers to Cuba. Let us hasten to the sentiments expressed by some of our republican legislators:

"Mr. Randolph, of Virginia: 'Cuba possesses an immense negro population. In case those States (Mexico and Colombia) should invade Cuba as all, it is unquestionable that this invasion will be made with this principle—the genius of universal emancipation—this sweeping assertion against the white population in front. And then, sir, what is the situation of the Southern States?'

"Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana: 'We know that Colombia and Mexico have long contemplated the independence of that island (Cuba). The final decision is now to be made, and the combination of forces and plan of attack to be formed. Let us, then, at such a crisis, become a step to the peace and happiness of the world. Send your ministers instantly to this diplomatic assembly, where the measure is maturing. Advise with them—remotest—MEASURES, if necessary, against so dangerous to us, and perhaps fatal to them.'

"Mr. Berrien, of Georgia: 'The question to be determined is this: With a due regard to the safety of the Southern States, can you suffer these States (Cuba and Porto Rico) to pass into the hands of BUCCANERS, drunk with their new-born liberty? If our interests and our safety shall require us to say to these new Republics, Cuba and Porto Rico, remain as they are, we are free to say it, and, by the blessing of God and the strength of our arms, to enforce the declaration; and let us say to gentlemen these high considerations do require a step to the peace and happiness of the world. Send your ministers instantly to this diplomatic assembly, where the measure is maturing. Advise with them—remotest—MEASURES, if necessary, against so dangerous to us, and perhaps fatal to them.'

"The facts and sentiments we have now exhibited, prove beyond cavil, that this mightily Republic volunteered to solicit the aid of foreign monarchs to perpetuate slavery in Cuba, and was strongly disposed to incur the hazard and calamities of war, in the cause, not of liberty, but of bondage."

Had the Southern Republics not been prevented by our Government, their armies would have made a descent upon Cuba, wrested it from the Spanish Crown, and secured its independence. Spanish power in this New World would have been annihilated. Slavery in all probability been abolished in Cuba, the African slave trade been arrested, annexation of the island to this country might have been consummated ere this, and all attempts on the part of European Powers to secure the control of this key to the Gulf of Mexico would have been precluded. To the action of Slavery, through our Government, Cuba now owes its bondage, and "Young America," the long postponed, if not defeat, of its favorite scheme of annexation.

We had hoped to see these facts brought out by the friends of Freedom in both Houses of Congress, during the debates on our foreign relations; but, so far, the time has been chiefly occupied by the friends of Slavery, who, according to usage, have been striving by the swelling words and meaningless resolves to throw themselves the champions of Progress and the vindicators of their country's rights. We are tired of this. Why should they be permitted by false pretences to secure a reputation to which they are not entitled? Let them themselves step up as the keepers of the honor of the country; all patriots, all lovers of the Union, all progress, are identified with them; Anti-Slavery men are factious, narrow-minded bigots, dead to the voice of patriotism, enemies of the Union, inimical to the honor of their country; and the worst of it is, the Anti-Slavery men have Congress are patient under the imputation; they suffer themselves to be placed in a false position before the Public. Why do they not strip the lion's skin from the ass? Why do they not show that Slavery has no element of progress or patriotism in it—that it is never sought territorial acquisitions for national purposes—that it has always opposed or been indifferent to acquisitions which it supposed could not be rendered subservient to its own use—that it has alienated our territory on the North, estranged us from Canada, prejudiced us in Hayti, paved the way for foreign encroachment in that island, perpetuated the political degradation and degradation of Cuba, as well as its negro slavery, and increased the question of annexation, and evoked and emboldened foreign intrigues against our peace? It is the friends of Slavery who are the factious, the sectionalists, the enemies of their country, the opponents of progress; they, and they alone, who are responsible for the imbecility and blundering which have disgraced our foreign diplomacy. Let them be exposed to the country; let the friends of Freedom relieve themselves from the false position in which they have been placed. To them belongs the custody of the Ark of Liberty and Progress; the supporters of Slavery have no more right to touch it, than the Philistines had to bear the Ark of the Lord. Never was there a fairer opportunity for exposing the baleful workings of Slavery, politically, than has been presented during the present session of Congress, and we are disappointed that the friends of Freedom have not improved this fair, reader must judge from the *Era*, which, in about seven or eight columns, has reported all that has been spoken this winter in either House, for the cause of Freedom and Progress.

PROGRESS IN NEW GRANADA.

The following are said to be the improvements actually adopted by the Government of New Granada within the last two or three years:

1st. The law which declares free all the slaves in the Republic, indemnifies the slaveholder for the loss of his property by a rate majority of the people, and though it did not encounter the obstacles existing in some other countries, because of the small number of slaves, and the knowledge of the meaning of reason and Christianity still had their opponents.

2d. The destruction of the tobacco monopoly, the good effects of which are already felt.

3d. The abolition of the duties on the importation of foreign goods, and the intention to extend it to others.

4th. The annulling of the privileges of the priests. This was demanded by reason, justice, and the state of the world, and is indispensable in a Republic—constitutional, military privileges, being incompatible with liberty."

5th. The abolition of tythes and the surpluses of the Church.

6th. The right of partitioners to elect their curators. This power has heretofore been exercised by the Executive.

7th. The entire Liberty of the Press.

8th. Free Education—the obstacles in the way of the poor in getting admission to the bar, and to every branch of learning being removed, by reducing or abolishing fees for titles and degrees.

9th. The division of the revenues—so necessary in a democratic Republic; as their centralization renders democratic a mere name, or makes the rulers monarchical or absolute. The object of the law is to allow the people to manage their local governments, to which the United States owe so much of their prosperity.

10th. The abolition of Quarantine and Cor-

sonably fall on the adjacent shores of the United States.

"The subject of the Panama mission was debated at great length in both Houses of Congress, and frequent allusions were made by the speakers to Cuba. Let us hasten to the sentiments expressed by some of our republican legislators:

"Mr. Randolph, of Virginia: 'Cuba possesses an immense negro population. In case those States (Mexico and Colombia) should invade Cuba as all, it is unquestionable that this invasion will be made with this principle—the genius of universal emancipation—this sweeping assertion against the white population in front. And then, sir, what is the situation of the Southern States?'

"Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana: 'We know that Colombia and Mexico have long contemplated the independence of that island (Cuba). The final decision is now to be made, and the combination of forces and plan of attack to be formed. Let us, then, at such a crisis, become a step to the peace and happiness of the world. Send your ministers instantly to this diplomatic assembly, where the measure is maturing. Advise with them—remotest—MEASURES, if necessary, against so dangerous to us, and perhaps fatal to them.'

"Mr. Berrien, of Georgia: 'The question to be determined is this: With a due regard to the safety of the Southern States, can you suffer these States (Cuba and Porto Rico) to pass into the hands of BUCCANERS, drunk with their new-born liberty? If our interests and our safety shall require us to say to these new Republics, Cuba and Porto Rico, remain as they are, we are free to say it, and, by the blessing of God and the strength of our arms, to enforce the declaration; and let us say to gentlemen these high considerations do require a step to the peace and happiness of the world. Send your ministers instantly to this diplomatic assembly, where the measure is maturing. Advise with them—remotest—MEASURES, if necessary, against so dangerous to us, and perhaps fatal to them.'

"The facts and sentiments we have now exhibited, prove beyond cavil, that this mightily Republic volunteered to solicit the aid of foreign monarchs to perpetuate slavery in Cuba, and was strongly disposed to incur the hazard and calamities of war, in the cause, not of liberty, but of bondage."

Had the Southern Republics not been prevented by our Government, their armies would have made a descent upon Cuba, wrested it from the Spanish Crown, and secured its independence. Spanish power in this New World would have been annihilated. Slavery in all probability been abolished in Cuba, the African slave trade been arrested, annexation of the island to this country might have been consummated ere this, and all attempts on the part of European Powers to secure the control of this key to the Gulf of Mexico would have been precluded. To the action of Slavery, through our Government, Cuba now owes its bondage, and "Young America," the long postponed, if not defeat, of its favorite scheme of annexation.

We had hoped to see these facts brought out by the friends of Freedom in both Houses of Congress, during the debates on our foreign relations; but, so far, the time has been chiefly occupied by the friends of Slavery, who, according to usage, have been striving by the swelling words and meaningless resolves to throw themselves the champions of Progress and the vindicators of their country's rights. We are tired of this. Why should they be permitted by false pretences to secure a reputation to which they are not entitled? Let them themselves step up as the keepers of the honor of the country; all patriots, all lovers of the Union, all progress, are identified with them; Anti-Slavery men are factious, narrow-minded bigots, dead to the voice of patriotism, enemies of the Union, inimical to the honor of their country; and the worst of it is, the Anti-Slavery men have Congress are patient under the imputation; they suffer themselves to be placed in a false position before the Public. Why do they not strip the lion's skin from the ass? Why do they not show that Slavery has no element of progress or patriotism in it—that it is never sought territorial acquisitions for national purposes—that it has always opposed or been indifferent to acquisitions which it supposed could not be rendered subservient to its own use—that it has alienated our territory on the North, estranged us from Canada, prejudiced us in Hayti, paved the way for foreign encroachment in that island, perpetuated the political degradation and degradation of Cuba, as well as its negro slavery, and increased the question of annexation, and evoked and emboldened foreign intrigues against our peace? It is the friends of Slavery who are the factious, the sectionalists, the enemies of their country, the opponents of progress; they, and they alone, who are responsible for the imbecility and blundering which have disgraced our foreign diplomacy. Let them be exposed to the country; let the friends of Freedom relieve themselves from the false position in which they have been placed. To them belongs the custody of the Ark of Liberty and Progress; the supporters of Slavery have no more right to touch it, than the Philistines had to bear the Ark of the Lord. Never was there a fairer opportunity for exposing the baleful workings of Slavery, politically, than has been presented during the present session of Congress, and we are disappointed that the friends of

